this shared work has its cause in that the last two mentioned products must necessarily be gathered within a certain limited period and therefore the Indians have need of the combined effort of all the workers they can muster in order to harvest all they possibly can. 222 462

For the making of nets they must first, naturally, begin by making twine, which they call niñ'hiδi. They get their textile material from a bromelia which in Quechua is called chaguar (a name now also used by the white settlers) and in Mataco hδié. They steep the leaves of this plant in water for a time and then comb them with a clam shell. Once this has been done the residue is put out into the sun to dry and whiten. The last stage is that of twisting the fiber -- a wad of it is held in the left hand and rubbed back and forth [182] on a leg, upon which they sprinkle a little gypsum in order to avoid getting hurt. This gypsum powder is called maccotac-muc. 283

The twine being thus ready they make not only nets with it but also ropes, which they call niñ'hioi-less, which means family or skein of threads.

Some of the Indians have special skill in making weapons, and make them as a means of barter with their companions. They use a very hard wood for the bow, and ostrich [rhea--Translator] tendons or strips of hide for the string. The arrow shaft is made of cane, the head of some hard wood, often tipped with bone and barbed like a fish hook. 411

Chapter V

Marriage Customs

Those who do not know anything about the Indians may believe that they lead morally and materially sterile lives. Yet this is not actually the case: the savage loves, hates and knows what ambition, enjoyments, dangers and glory are. He is acquainted with religion and with fear. In these primitive societies the whole gamut of human affections is experienced precisely "as among the whites," as Faustino used to say to me when I asked him about the intimate experiences of the Indian way of life. 152

The opposite could well be demonstrated but in order not to stray from these my Indians, let me say that I have seen proof positive of conjugal love among polygamists.

We had on board an Indian with his young and beautiful partner, whom he loved and adored as though she were a representation of the Virgin.

In that business of the Indian who was bitten by a snake and whom we treated, his wife came to him immediately and cared for him for twenty days without ever leaving his side.

Chief Pascual, whose wife was captured and carried off in a surprise raid -- she being old and ugly --, organized an invasion, tracked down the attackers, fought like a lion and rescued his partner from the hands of the enemy. These are facts which happened in a short time while I was present in that area.

When an Indian puts in an appearance and asks for something, he never forgets his children, his wife or his relatives: when he receives anything capable of being divided up, he distributes it, not only to the above but also to his companions.

I have also noticed that mothers are always extraordinarily loving with their children; and have noted that the inter-tribal wars and the mass killings of the inhabitants of a given village are always motivated by the need to avenge offences offered against compatriots or relatives. And if this does not reflect loving concern, what does?

[218] They are cruel, but only regarding prisoners of war whom they condemn to death. We are hardly in a condition to judge them for this cruelty since we did ourselves do the very same until recently; put it into wholesale practice against the Indians themselves during the period of conquest, and continue to do so against them even now when we can do it with impunity.

Among the Indians this custom of killing prisoners is necessary for their personal security in the nomadic life they lead in which they are continually exposed to surprise attacks, and it furthermore frees them from the shame of slavery, an unknown phenomenon amongst them. (1) Looked at from another point

1. This does not agree with what is recounted about the Mbayas and other tribes, who, as report has it, have slaves. (Ed.)

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI12
Choroti SK6

relatives of the departed cannot live safely in it. This is the reason why in the Gran Chaco a traveller so often encounters remains of Indian villages which have evidently been burnt and abandoned by their inhabitants. The radical destruction of the whole village is always resorted to when several deaths have taken place at short intervals. The relatives of the deceased, when they abandon their own village, generally go and live with their relatives and friends in a neighbouring village, where they stay for some time, or until they decide to found a new settlement in some other part of the country. Custom requires that when the mourners arrive at the other village, they shall be received with wailing.

The Tobas, although they always burn the house where a death has taken place, do not as a rule deem it necessary to destroy the whole village. Similarly the relatives of the deceased generally remain there, building themselves a new dwelling; in other cases they leave the place for some time. The other inhabitants of the village, on the other hand, make no notable change in their mode of life, since they are not to the same extent exposed to danger from the death-spirit as the nearest relations.

Weeping and wailing plays an important part among the mourning ceremonies of the Indians, although it is always limited to the women and the children. The fact that wailing is ceremonial clearly appears from the circumstances under which it takes place. Although it is beyond doubt that the Indians are capable of real feelings of sorrow at the death of a near relation, yet their intense fear of death — including the fear of the dead body — is apparent throughout their mourning customs. The object of the wailing seems to be partly to propitiate the spirit of the departed relative by showing him how deeply the survivors grieve at his death, partly to frighten away the death-demon by the noise. The latter point of view is probably the most important. Wailing is continued for several months after the death. The length of the wailing period varies according to the social importance of the deceased. A great chief is mourned in all tribes for longer than an ordinary member of the community, in some cases up to a whole year. As to the manner of wailing there is a marked distinction between the Tobas and the Mataco on the one hand, and the Choroti on the other. The wailing of the Toba women is like a greatly exaggerated loud crying and sobbing which is seemingly the expression of a desperate sorrow. The wailing of the Choroti women is calmer and more like the weeping of a child. Every lamentation consists of a series of sounds produced in a high falsetto voice and

5: Fock E-5 (1962) 1963 S17 Mataco S17

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Fig. 3.—Normally separated during the day because of different occupations, the single family joins during the night in gossip and sleep. In winter the Mataco sleep indoor on platform beds, in summer normally in the open on furs and with a log as a pillow. Flash-phot. Fock.

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[152]

in their conversation and show no sign of affection. A man going out to hunt merely says: "I am off and shall return in 3–4 days". She says at most "Very good", and when he comes back there will be no form of greeting or conversation. Married couples who break this rule and evince great devotion or jealousy are not expected to remain together for any length of time, as in this way they will bind themselves to each other. This will stop them attending to their respective occupations which often take them in different directions. Devotion between man and wife, undoubtedly often present, belongs to the night only and is closely connected with the sexual life. It is as though the recollection of the first trial marriage has delineated a pattern to be followed; first the intimate, nocturnal meeting at the dancing-place and in the girl's home; then the sudden awakening to the demands of the father-in-law. It is a general feature with both children and adults that they are far more confident and daring by night than by day.

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The Mataco are monogamous. There are very few examples of men with two or three wives, and then it was always a matter of chiefs. The polygyny of chiefs is probably an ancient custom, as it is sanctioned in the account about the first appearance of woman. Incidentally, monogamy is strictly enforced, and no form of extra-marital sexual relations is socially sanctioned. In case of infidelity

5: Fock E-5 (1962) 1963 S17 Mataco S17

family will then be sent to the killer's village to ask whether the murdered woman's husband was at home the night before. If the answer is negative the murderer is known, and the families of the two victims will take up their arms and prepare to attack the killer's village. However, this was often merely a move undertaken to ensure the payment of blood money, compensation for the two lives, by the murderer's family.

Another example of the fatal results of a woman's infidelity is bound up in a custom that clearly shows the cruelty that formerly prevailed among the Mataco. If a man discovered that his wife had a lover, he could pretend ignorance and privately watch their habits and meeting place. One day he would follow his wife and wait in hiding until he could surprise the pair asleep. First he would kill his rival with an arrow, and then overpower the wife and cut her throat. He then dragged her out on to the path with legs far apart, slit up her stomach and lay her lover on top. The husband then crept back to his hut, seating himself at the fire with his bow and arrow in his hand waiting to see what would happen. Someone would soon come by the scene of the crime and come running back to the village, whereupon the man fled into the forest. As he could not be found a start was made with burying the two victims. In the meantime the murderer had crept close in and could hear what the wife's family said about him. At the moment they lowered the wife's corpse into the grave, and all eyes were looking down, the man shot one more arrow, killing the brother of the murdered woman. He then fled at great speed, reached his village and informed his family of the slaughter of the three persons. Both his father's and his mother's bands then armed themselves, and shortly afterwards the bands connected with the wife and the rival arrived to attack the village. This case is not merely a story, but a typical instance showing how adultery with the Mataco frequently leads to homicide and blood feuds between different bands.

Unfaithfulness is one of the chief reasons for divorce, which is a quite frequent occurrence with the Mataco. If on account of infidelity a man is divorced from his wife, he himself leaves the house taking with him only his personal effects such as fishing net, tinder, bow and arrow etc. He moves first to his parents' house, and later to the family of his new wife. Under these circumstances he cannot take his children with him unless they are so big that they themselves desire it. If the woman's unfaithfulness is the cause of the divorce, she will be evicted from the house, and not until later will her family come and fetch her personal property such as clay vessels, *yicas*, harvest of forest fruit, plus any goats and sheep. The children then stay with the father and can be brought up by his mother or some other female relative. It is always a general rule that at divorces the injured party retains house and children, and only the personal property is divided. However, it is not always that things go according to rule. Often, for example, an injured woman and her mother will visit her divorced husband's new house when he is away, remove his personal things and perhaps burn down the house.

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Ceremony for the Expulsion of Illness for the Benefit of One Person

(April 2, 1933)

755 [55] A woman being sick, she was taken care of, but as she was less rich, the ceremony had a more modest character. Opposite the sick woman's house they put up a tent under which she lay down. The offerings were only some cloths and string bags. At my arrival the medicine man was in the act of speaking with the illness, while an old woman, also a medicine woman, was singing and blowing on the sick woman. The others were talking among themselves, without appearing to be very concerned with what was going on. After an interruption, during which [273] everyone drank the wine demanded by the illness, a man began to run around the sick woman, singing, his body bent forward and his arms dangling. The chief medicine man continued to speak with the illness, while the woman blew on the sick woman and another medicine man put a certain number of covers from illustrated newspapers and 20-centavo popular novels around her head. The runner stopped and the chief medicine man began to talk with the others. Everyone sat down, drinking water, and two women began to walk rapidly around the others, singing. One of them stopped, and a little later the other did 755 the same. Then all the assistants began to dance, accompanied 763 by hiccups from the sick woman, who appeared to be getting worse and worse; in fact she died in the middle of the ceremony.

Immediately after the death the dance was stopped; the old women ran around the tent, shaking maracas and singing, while two men laid the dead woman on her right side, bending her legs and crossing (or bending) her arms over her breast. She was wrapped in the cloths on which she had been lying and [152] carried to her house. The medicine men stripped themselves [756] quietly while all the women of the village wailed the customary lamentations.

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433 222 241 They do not work, plant, or do anything similar; they are but mediocre fishermen and barely hunters. To live they lay up great stocks of chañar, algarrobas, and mistol fruits, and with some gourd seeds placed under the earth they have extraordinary harvests if the year is moderately rainy.

786 578 682 They organize their orgies when the algarrobas, chañar, and mistol are in season, and then the quarrels and murders occur among the men; these crimes go unpunished by the authorities, for there are none. But if the one who has perished had relatives they will take revenge.

342 513 /320/ They do not bother to build houses or such things. They make a kind of oven; for it they bend some branches of small trees, fix them to the ground, cover these branches with straw or grass, and they sleep underneath in a pile in the company of their dogs.

164 515 This is the reason for the excessive mange which kills them and makes them look so disgusting, since they are not at all partisans of the daily bath, as the Chiriguano are, and when they do bathe, they roll about in the river sand or in the ashes of their oven-houses.

584 585 They do not seek the consent of their parents for marriage nor do they have ceremonies. Do two young persons, a man and a woman, love each other? They leave the common settlement, go to the woods, stay a few weeks, and then return, now married, to live with their in-laws or to make another oven like the one of their elders.

586 152 837 593 Young people divorce each other easily, but they are more constant than the Chiriguano in married life. Nonetheless, the women are very jealous and do not readily consent to their husbands' being with other women; for this reason they keep them content with the work of bringing them much fruit from the forest and caressing them.

302 301 Men and women cut their hair; some of them stain their faces and pierce their ear lobs, in which they put a piece of wood, like the Toba, but this is not a distinctive mark of the race.